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ISSUES IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS FACED IN CURRENT CONGRESSIONAL SESSION

Many items of international import are on the docket of this session of Congress, some by Presidential proposal, some by legislators' initiative, some by force of events.

On the Middle East, the President in a special message to Congress on January 5, made a proposal for a U.S. approach, emphasizing his sense of urgency by delivering it in person, and preceding his State of the Union Message. His request was two-fold: (1) For authorization for his discretionary use of armed forces in the Mid-East to counter overt communist aggression, and (2) For special economic aid, authorizing him to use \$200 million of present Mutual Security Funds in that area and envisioning further appropriations of \$200 million per annum for two more years.

While the President and Secretary of State urged immediate action, Congress asked many questions, as did press, church leaders and others: Is this simply a stop-gap as a prelude to a real program for the Mid-East? If so, what will the U.S. propose by way of a comprehensive, substantive program? When? Will it be through the United Nations? Can economic aid be separated from strictly military and political considerations, despite being joined in the original proposal? (Churches have stood for such separation.) Since many Mid-East experts hold that more real dangers lie in subversion than in overt aggression, what is planned for U.S. policy to deal with such realities there? Questions also faced some Congressmen in their reticent reactions to the economic proposal. Since many experts on the area feel that economic problems are of primary importance, should not economic proposals be seen as of primary importance?

After vigorous consideration, the House passed the measure, 355 to 61, while the Senate continued deliberation. Resentment was voiced in Congress at being put in a position where it could hardly do anything but approve the request once the President had made it public, without seeming to present misunderstandable division to the world.

There is a danger that questions raised in these Administration proposals for the Mid-East situation may affect thinking on the total U.S. foreign aid program. A struggle is suggested within the Administration between those who would use economic aid for primarily humanitarian purposes, to meet the needs of human beings and to stabilize their economic life, and those who would use aid primarily as a weapon in the cold war. This poses real concern for the churches, as they, while recognizing the realities of international politics, have supported foreign aid programs primarily for humanitarian ends.

(To page 2)

IN THIS ISSUE

- 1-2 - Issues in International Affairs Faced in Current Congressional Session:
Mid-East; Immigration and Refugees; Mutual Security Program; OTC; IAEA; USIA
- 3 - Disarmament Debate at UN lists New Proposals Including Those of U.S.
- 4 - Replies Received from British and Near East Christian Councils
- 5 - Atomic Energy--For War or Peace? Review of Atomic Quest
- 6-7 - Reports of Churches: American Baptist Resolutions on International Affairs
- 8 - Invitation to Foreign Aid Conference; Eisenhower Commends CWS.

Another serious question is that these proposals seem to move toward a unilateral "go-it-alone" policy. The U.S. had so persistently worked through and supported the United Nations from October to December in the Mid-East crisis; now it is a concern that our responsibilities and opportunities to work through the UN are so de-emphasized or at most un-emphasized in these proposals. Questions are being asked as to whether this may mean at other points in Mid-East programs and in economic and technical aid programs a lessening rather than an increasing emphasis upon the role of the UN by the U.S.

Immigration and refugee relief constituted another special Presidential message to Congress on January 31. It proposed: Authorization of the entry of refugees annually to the yearly average of the last eight years (67,000 per annum) as parolees to be granted permanent residence by the Attorney General subject to veto by Congress in individual cases. Increasing by about 65,000 the regular immigration quotas, by using the 1950 census instead of 1920. Redistributing quotas on the basis of actual immigration into the U.S.A. from 1924 to 1955. Pooling on a global basis the unused regular national quotas which average about 60,000 per year. Eliminating mortgages on quotas from the Displaced Persons and other special acts. Admission of orphans adopted or to be adopted by U.S. citizens. Transferring from Congress to the Administration, with Congressionally enacted safeguards, responsibility for individual immigration cases (these have constituted about one-third of all Congressional acts). Other changes recommended in the basic Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952 would include such items as: Elimination of fingerprinting for temporary entry to the U.S.A. Dropping usual immigration requirements for travel-in-transit through the U.S.A. Repeal of requirement for aliens to specify race and ethnic classification in visa applications. Rectification of discriminations against Asian spouses, and against adopted and other children. (As this Presidential Message came at dead-line for the Newsletter, this subject will be treated in the next issue).

The Mutual Security Program for 1958 was proposed by the President in the amount of \$4,350 million. (This program which includes both economic and technical aid funds will be considered at length in future issues of the Newsletter).

United States membership in the proposed Organization for Trade Cooperation (OTC) was again proposed by the President in his State of the Union Message, January 7. This would be the working office for the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) in which the U.S.A. is already a leading participant. The President has repeatedly recommended membership in OTC during the last two Congresses. The proposal was sidetracked in both Congresses, partially because of lack of public and Congressional interest. OTC would not come into being and could not operate without U.S. participation.

Full United States participation in the International Atomic Energy Agency was also recommended by the President. 72 nations have already signed the Charter (of the 81 present at the planning conference last fall). The U.S. has offered for distribution through the agency 5,000 kilograms of fissionable uranium 235 for atomic research and power uses in other nations as part of the U.S. atoms-for-peace program.

For a more adequate United States Information Agency the President has requested a budget for next year for \$144 million, which would be about \$27 million above this year, saying that opportunities and need for this work by the U.S. are unprecedented. By contrast, experts estimate that Russia, European satellites and China spend about \$3 billion per year, for internal and external propaganda.

It is assumed that the churches, consistant with their general practice and policy, will be on the alert on these and other issues and will be expressing their concerns to their representatives in the administration, at the U.N., and in Congress.

DISARMAMENT DEBATE AT UNITED NATIONS LISTS NEW PROPOSALS INCLUDING THOSE OF UNITED STATES

Of current importance at the United Nations is the issue of disarmament, with preliminary debate in the General Assembly's Political Committee to be followed by negotiations in the five-nation Subcommittee on Disarmament in March. Proposals put forward in the General Assembly sessions will then receive detailed deliberation.

Among ideas advanced in the debate were the following: That the smaller, non-atomic powers should have more voice in the negotiations, by not referring the matter to the Subcommittee, as proposed by Egypt; or by enlarging the Subcommittee, as proposed by Bulgaria. The U.S.S.R. proposed adding four nations to the Disarmament commission, which presently includes the members of the Security Council plus Canada. A resolution that all nuclear test explosions should be registered in advance, was sponsored by Canada, Japan, Norway; it gained support of other states such as Iraq, Egypt, Spain, New Zealand. The theory of arms equilibrium between Israel and the Arab states was condemned by Iraq, with an appeal for international control through the UN on a basis of equality and justice.

One of the presentations which opened up some new possibilities for negotiation was by the U.S.A. in the speech of Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., January 14. By way of preface he emphasized that the U.S. is "willing to take sound steps toward arms reductions, whether they are very small or whether they are large and extensive, provided, however, that any step must be subject to effective inspection." The reason, he said, is that "only an inspected agreement would serve the objective of a reliable peace." He outlined five principal points upon which the new proposals center, the outline to be filled in with specifics in the later negotiating stage:

First: That an agreement be reached under which at an early date all future production of fissionable materials shall be used or stockpiled exclusively for non-weapons purposes under international inspection and supervision. With success in that, it might then be possible to move reliably toward the reduction of existing stockpiles, converting weapons-material to peaceful purposes. In this, the U.S. would make "generous, progressive transfers of fissionable material to peaceful uses," similar to its pledge under the International Atomic Energy Agency.

Second: It would then be possible, in a secure manner, to limit, and ultimately to eliminate, all nuclear test explosions. The U.S. proposes this be done. Meanwhile, the U.S. is willing to agree to advance notice and registration of all nuclear tests, as proposed by Norway and others, and to have limited international observation of such tests.

Third: That the nations move toward the first stage of inspected reduction of conventional armaments and armed forces, using the bases of 2.5 million for the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. and 750,000 for France and the U.K., on which the countries in the Subcommittee seem to agree. Inspection would include both aerial and ground methods. It was suggested that other nations begin to consider the relative size of their forces.

Fourth: To bring under international inspection and participation the testing of objects to be propelled through outer space, such as "earth satellites", "intercontinental missiles", "long-range unmanned weapons", and "space platforms". In such matters the U.S. is "ready to participate in fair, balanced, reliable systems of control."

Fifth: The U.S. continues to emphasize the importance of providing against the possibility of great surprise attack. This would involve open skies, open ports, open centers. The open skies plan proposed at Geneva by President Eisenhower is no longer insisted on as a prerequisite; the U.S. is willing to execute it either as an opening or a later step. The U.S. proposes that an international agency for the regulation of armaments be installed concurrently with the beginning of the program to assure a method of control, an organization of supervision, and a mechanism for regulation.

REPLIES RECEIVED FROM BRITISH AND NEAR EAST CHRISTIAN COUNCILS TO NATIONAL COUNCIL MESSAGES

Communications have been received from the Archbishop of Canterbury in behalf of the British Council of Churches and from the Near East Council of Churches in response to the messages sent from the NCCCUSA by action of the General Board, December 5, (texts in Dec. Newsletter.) With the increasing importance of such ecumenical relationships in times of crisis, these communications are reported here.

"Dear Brethren in Christ,

The British Council of Churches, and I personally, greatly appreciate the message of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the United States of America conveyed in the President's letter of December 6th. The encouragement of that message derives both from your understanding of what we have in our Council striven, under God, to do in these perplexing days, and from the solemn pledge your message contains of common Christian fellowship. At a time when decisions and actions of the British Government have been sharply criticised by many in your country, the restraint and understanding courtesy shown by our American fellow-Christians are deeply valued: and on our side we endeavor to show the same restraint and courtesy when criticisms here are directed against the policies of your Government.

As in your Council, so we in the British Council of Churches have rejoiced in the ways in which even these disturbing events have furthered the growth of Christian fellowship through the World Council of Churches and in other ways, not least with the Protestant Federation of France: and we are resolved that this fellowship must be deepened in the future.

It is salutary, however, to observe the sharpness of division in judgment on recent events found amongst British Christians. It reminds us how grave and difficult is the Christian task of finding how to reconcile in a true integrity the rendering to Caesar of the things that belong unto Caesar and to God the things that belong unto God. To find the way of reconciliation is the task committed to our International department in the formulation of policy and the guiding of the Churches.

We, too, have pledged ourselves to renewed efforts, through our Department of Inter-Church Aid and Refugee Service, to care for the homeless and the stricken. There are signs of deepening awareness among the Churches...to that ministry of compassion.

We believe that at this time we should endeavour to strengthen the ties which bind together the Churches of the United States of America and of Britain. So once again we would express our joy in receiving your letter and pray God's blessing on all the Churches associated in your Council. Yours sincerely, (signed) Geoffrey Cantuar, President,

The British Council of Churches."

The communication from the Near East Christian Council through its executive secretary, Harry G. Dorman, asked for prayers of Christians in the U.S.A. and expressed "great interest" in the communication sent by the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. It went on to say: "We thank you for the deep concern you have shown for the Christian community here and for the Near East peoples, and for your fellowship with us in the continuing Christian task and in renewed efforts toward a just and lasting peace."

The request for prayers in this message, being transmitted to the churches by President Blake, is in keeping with continuing concerns such as those expressed in previous calls to prayer and actions of the churches -

For the churches of the Near East in their compassionate service to all peoples; for all refugees of that area, both those from recent conflict, and those whose plight has continued for many years; and for Christian people in the Near East and Western lands that we all, with our particular responsibilities may seek to fulfill our roles in Christian witness, in reconciliation among estranged peoples, and in working for settlements of the problems continuing to disturb that area and the world.

ATOMIC ENERGY -- FOR WAR OR PEACE? A BOOK REVIEW: ATOMIC QUEST

For more than ten years the terrifying possibilities in the release of atomic energy have been of concern to the American people -- and to other peoples. Many questions have been widely discussed. Why did our government of a peace-loving people seek the development of the atomic bomb, and use it on Japanese cities? Why do we stock it now? What are the perils and promises of the atomic age? Among many of us the tragedy of Hiroshima and Nagasaki is always recalled with a sense of national guilt -- to be expiated we know not how. We have had too little reliable information as to the circumstances that led to that tragedy, and why our scientists devoted themselves so unreservedly to the development of the atomic bomb. Now Dr. Arthur Compton has told us the story as never so well told before. The five chapters may be briefly summarized.

I. VISION. How the scientists became aware that the atom holds energy that man can use; and how, concerned for the nation's safety, they persuaded the government to support an all-out effort to release this energy. American scientists proceeded in this for "the defense of the free world" with widening cooperation. Refugee scientists from Europe including so-called "enemy aliens", joined in rendering notable service. (The McCarran-Walter Act had not yet been devised.)

II. FAITH. The arduous effort to reach a controlled and self-sustained atomic chain reaction came to a successful climax in December 1942 in the University of Chicago laboratory. This was essential to further progress in the practical use of atomic energy, including the making of atomic weapons. The United States had now, for nearly a year, been officially involved in the war; and war in or from the air had assumed great importance. The next step was to produce the atomic bomb -- hopefully before the Germans had it.

III. WORK. How "a strange team of military men, captains of industry, scientists, engineers, and competent workmen had to perform the titanic task of forging three atomic bombs" -- to be ready in 1945. Production plants of a new type, in carefully chosen, somewhat isolated locations, had to be devised and erected; and a new phase of research and experimentation was entered. In July 1945 a successful test of an atomic bomb was made in New Mexico.

IV. CHOICE. The German progress toward the atomic bomb had been halted both by Allied military action and by lack of coordination within the Nazi regime; and that regime collapsed in the spring of 1945. It had become clear earlier that "if the atomic bombs were to be used, it would be not against Germany but against Japan." At the Potsdam Conference of the Allies in July, the use of the bombs on Japan was agreed to "if when they were ready it had not been possible to achieve Japan's surrender." The already planned attack by regular army and naval forces, it was estimated by Churchill and the responsible British and American staff officers, would cost the lives of more than a million Allied soldiers and 2 million Japanese. In July an ultimatum, drawn up by American and British governments, offered "conditions according to which the Japanese could end the war with honor." A scornful reply, only through press channels, called such a request for surrender "unworthy of public notice." Millions of leaflets were broadcast from Allied planes, but no evidence appeared that the will of the dominant Japanese military was weakening. In the sixty-seven pages of this chapter of Dr. Compton's book, a much needed light is shed on a controversy that still goes on after 10 years.

V. HOPE. In his concluding chapter, the author considers "prospects regarding war, peace, and freedom." He discusses "the military and social consequences of the release of the atom's energy," and the future of freedom from a Christian's point of view.

REPORTS OF CHURCHES: AMERICAN BAPTIST CONVENTION RESOLUTIONS ON INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

In the series of denominational sets of resolutions which the Newsletter has been running, this month excerpts are given from those adopted by the American Baptist Convention for 1956-1957 at Seattle, Washington. This series is published to exchange views and to stimulate further action among the churches of various denominations. As the different communions begin to plan now for their 1957 assemblies, the publication of such resolutions may offer suggestions and a basis of comparison. The following resolutions adopted in official action, June 22, 1956, are part of those in the section on Christian responsibility in international affairs.

World Responsibility: ...we urge our government to accept its full measure of responsibility for sharing our abundance of goods and opportunities with the peoples of the world,...

Refugee Relief: Our denominational Refugee Resettlement office has processed and sent forward a total of 900 "assurances," representing approximately 2,300 individuals. Of these "assurances," 462 were sent to the American consulate in Hong Kong...

American Baptists are involved with Chinese refugees as with no other group at the present time. These bona fide refugees are completely within the framework of the Refugee Relief Act. We, as American Baptists, because of our historical involvement in China, urge Congress now to:

- a. continue any RRA case covered by a verified "assurance" in the possession of a consulate of the United States on December 31, 1956, with the authorization that visas on such cases may be issued up to, but not later than, April 30, 1957;
- b. utilize a sufficient number of unused RRA visas as of December 31, 1956 for these most needy Chinese refugees in order to bring to them their only hope for life and opportunity, to reunite families long separated by war, to help us extend the accelerated relationship with Chinese communities which this service has afforded, to help us complete our Christian commitments;
- c. ...to continue the (refugee) orphan program which has brought hope to so many children and joy to so many American parents.

Arab Refugees: Following the establishment of the state of Israel in 1948, a refugee problem developed involving untold misery for over a million Palestine refugees. This tragedy has not been healed by time, and it creates a serious menace for peace in the Middle East and in the world.

The American Baptist Convention, notes with approval the second World Council of Churches' and the International Missionary Council's Conference on Arab Refugees, which met in Beirut, Lebanon, May 21-25, 1956. It commends to the constituent churches of the Convention continued encouragement of a solution of the problem in this critical area of the world and continued support of the relief program through the World Relief Committee of the American Baptist Convention.

The statement issued by the Conference, which met at Beirut notes some of the specific points at issue: the right to repatriation, the just claim to compensation, the adjustment and guarantee of frontiers, the status of Jerusalem, and the equitable utilization of land and water resources...

Partisan attitudes hinder Christians from finding the point where they can meet in the search for truth. The Convention encourages its constituent churches to acquaint themselves thoroughly with the facts and to make them as widely known as possible, to encourage their congressmen to redouble their efforts to contribute toward a just political solution, and to make the solution of this problem a matter of earnest prayer in churches across the Convention.

Immigration: We renew our call for revision of the Immigration and Nationality Act (The McCarran-Walter Act of 1952), and ask our people to communicate this concern to their congressmen.

We specifically favor the removal of the "national origins" quota; the substitution of the 1950 census figures for the 1920, thus increasing the annual total available; the pooling of the unused quotas in any year for reassignment the next year to the areas of (to p. 7)

greatest need; and the easing of the excessive security features which made the present law difficult to administer with equity and justice for all.

Hydrogen Bomb Testing: We urge that the United States Government stop hydrogen bomb testing because of:

- a. The harm it does to our missionary enterprise.
- b. The damage resulting to the Japanese economy.
- c. The adverse effect on our relations with Asiatic nations (the Japanese Diet unanimously requested the United States to give up recent tests).
- d. The possible long-range danger to the human race.

United Nations: We reaffirm our belief in the United Nations and in its agencies, and we urge our government to expand its moral and financial support of these "instruments of peace."

a. We commend our government for its support of the United Nations Technical Assistance program of sharing skills, and the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF) in its program of help and hope for the world's children; for its leadership in the International Atomic Energy Agency in its "Atoms for Peace" program, and the International Finance Corporation in its financial help to the underdeveloped areas of the world; for its continued efforts towards Universal Disarmament with an adequate system of inspection and control. We urge continued and generous support of these programs.

As a further step, we urge our government to give serious and immediate attention to leadership and cooperation in setting up the Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development (SUNFED), as an indication of our desire to alleviate world conditions by means of international action, and to provide an international antidote to a competitive race with the USSR.

b. We further express our belief in the interdependence of the nations of the world and the need for liberal and cooperative trade policies administered by the Organization for Trade Cooperation (OTC).

c. We reaffirm our belief in the need for extension of Human Rights, including the right of peoples to govern themselves. We urge our government to support such principles in its foreign policies and through the United Nations.

d. We urge our churches to increase their study and moral support of the United Nations and its programs, recognizing its present and potential contribution to the wellbeing and peace of the peoples and nations.

East-West Relations: We recognize the change which has taken place in the world political climate since the recent Geneva Conference, as evidenced by the exchange visits made between citizens of western nations and of the USSR, and we rejoice that a delegation of American Baptists was able to visit the USSR, as guests of our Russian Baptist brethren and that, in return, a delegation of Russian Baptists could visit this country as guests of our Baptist brethren here.

We regard this type of exchange as being particularly helpful in developing a better understanding of the Baptist peoples of Russia.

We recognize that these visits will not in themselves alter the basic difference between the governments of the West and the government of the USSR, but will clarify the issues involved.

In the light of this new climate of relations between our two countries, we would encourage our people to study fully all details of these exchanges in the hope that greater understanding and a spirit of cooperation for peace might evolve over a period of time.

Implementation of Resolutions: Realizing that these resolutions have importance only as they become a part of the thinking and acting of American Baptists, and realizing that the Council of Christian Social Progress makes these resolutions available, we urge our churches to bring them to the attention of their people through the church school the preaching ministry, and study groups.

We further urge that individuals and groups in our churches take positive action; that they write to national and local legislators expressing their convictions; that they make their voices heard in all areas in which there is a need for a relevant Christian witness.

INVITATION TO CONFERENCE ON INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT, WASHINGTON, FEB. 12-13

Unusual significance is attached to this year's annual Conference on International Economic and Social Development to be held in Washington, D.C. on February 12-13 at the Hotel Statler. This is a year of particular political significance for foreign aid with the Senate and House Committees and the President's Commission making their recommendations shortly and with the Administration and Congress taking action soon thereafter. Counter forces will be at work seeking to cut down or to increase foreign aid. Therefore, many organizations representing business, labor, farm, church, also voluntary agencies are combining their efforts in the Conference, February 12-13. It is hoped this will help to mobilize public opinion across the country in favor of more enlightened policy for expanded programs of technical cooperation and economic development. It is planned that concentrated follow-up will take place in 17 cities this year. These include:

Dallas, Texas	New Orleans, Louisiana	Columbus, Ohio
Chicago, Illinois	Richmond, Virginia	Cleveland, Ohio
Springfield, Illinois	Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania	Dayton, Ohio
New Brunswick, N. J.	Los Angeles, California	Boston, Mass.
Minneapolis, Minnesota	Greensboro, N. Carolina	Rochester, N.Y.
Detroit, Michigan	Louisville, Kentucky	

It is hoped that church representative from these cities will be present as well as representatives from national cooperative agencies and denominations.

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER PRAISES CHURCHES' WORK THROUGH CHURCH WORLD SERVICE

Church support of the Refugee Relief Program through Church World Service was praised by President Eisenhower in a message presented to the annual meeting of the CWS board of managers, in Atlantic City, N.J. in late January.

"Your steady support of the Refugee Relief Program and your constant, imaginative search for new means to help your fellow men are splendid evidence of your Christian faith," said the President. Relaying the presidential message, Dr. Roswell P. Barnes, associate general secretary of the National Council of Churches, also commended the Council's global relief arm for its successful "crash" program in finding homes and jobs in this country for about 3,000 of the almost 4,000 Hungarian escapees it is sponsoring.

Against this background Roland Elliott, CWS director of immigration services, emphasized the continuing needs of the more than 200,000 people still languishing in German and Austrian camps alone. In his report in 1956, "a year of fulfillment," Mr. Elliott presented figures showing that 30,544 assurances were obtained in the 12-month period to cover 61,186 persons. This was done, he said, quite apart from the unplanned and unbudgeted Hungarian escapee emergency program.

The agency's year-end report, presented to the meeting, pointed out that American Protestant churches have assumed responsibility for the welfare of 120,000 Arab refugees from Port Said and adjacent areas. The report also showed that CWS made more than 145 shipments overseas a month of government surplus foods, clothing, medicines, and hospital supplies during 1956 for a total value of more than \$35,000,000.

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